423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[785] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual
[834] abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic ani-
[476] mals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly; Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

159 592 437 602 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.

A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 593 562 421 [931] A woman living with her husband in a separate household has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] [851] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [421] [562] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which Maria has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

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her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

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But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, running away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

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In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation is quite different. First, women are economically independent, being able to make a living without a male in the household. Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

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Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

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613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the

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594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
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462 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
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592 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
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434 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
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[421] the same property as men do, in the other, they control only marginal property.

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
462 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
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591 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
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[241] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
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591 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
593 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
428 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
562 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
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606 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
75 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her own kin rather than her husband's.